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Synoecism and religious interface in Demetrias (Thessaly)*

Abstract: This paper addresses the issues related to the contribution of archaeology along with other disciplines, mostly history and epigraphy, to the study of the re-structuring of religious life within the confines of post-classical synoecisms. Emphasis is placed on the religious interface of eastern coastal Thessaly, as it was configured after the local communities came together to form a new royal foundation, Demetrias, in 293.

Résumé : Cet article aborde les questions liées à l'apport de l'archéologie avec d'autres disciplines, principalement l'histoire et l'épigraphie, à l'étude de la réorganisation de la vie religieuse au sein de synécismes post-classiques. L'accent est mis sur l'interface religieuse de Thessalie côtière de l'Est, tel qui a été configuré après la réunion des communautés locales, en 293, afin de former Démétrias, nouvelle fondation royale et siége du royaume macédonien.

“Can we talk about an Archaeology of Greek Religion?” From this key question addressed by A. Schnapp¹ in 1999 – in an attempt to re-evaluate the hermeneutical and practical dimension of religious archaeology for ancient Greece – until the establishment of *Kernos' Archaeological Chronicle* in 2001 and its present decennial anniversary celebration, the contribution which archaeology can make to our understanding of Greek religion was more than ever highlighted.

1. Religion and synoecism

New types of political organization – namely the enforced or the voluntary synoecism and the sympolity – emerged in a wide scale at the dawn of the classical world, when the restructuring of the socio-political order dynamically overshadowed the classical *polis'* saga;² this has surely left important traces on the local religious life. The religious inferences of synoecism have been already

* I am indebted to the anonymous referee for very constructive criticism. Professor Robert Parker read and commented upon an earlier draft; Dr. Maria Stamatopoulou generously provided comments on the final draft; also Dr. Miltiades Hatzopoulos brought to my attention Demetrius' royal letter and kindly read the final draft. I am grateful to all of them. All errors are due to the author. All dates are BC, unless otherwise indicated.

¹ SCHNAPP (1999), p. 34.

² On early synoecisms: GABRIELSEN (2000), p. 177-206; REGER (2001), p. 157-181; HANSEN (2004), p. 115-119. For post-classical evidence: COHEN (1995), *passim*; REGER (2004), p. 145-180.

briefly discussed by M.P. Nilsson,³ but a thorough response to the question of the impact of communities' coalescence to the local religious life has been recently provided by R. Parker: "every re-structuring of the political order required or potentially required the re-organisation of cults, rewriting of sacrificial calendars, re-assignment of priesthoods ... for a community threatened by subjection, aspiring to liberation or contemplating synoecism the future of ancestral cults must have been one very sensitive issue."⁴ And this is by no means a modern assumption, since local inscriptions reflect the Greek attitude towards political unification and cultic realignment: an emotional bewilderment and anticipation followed by further drastic enactment.

The Myconian "sacred law" of the last quarter of the third century inaugurates a new era in the creation of the island's religious life after the synoecism.⁵ Furthermore, "no one participate in the rites of Lindos who did not participate in them before" clearly echoes the voice of the Lindians of the late fourth century, after the synoecism of the three Rhodian cities;⁶ they clearly approved exclusivity in their own religious affairs and accept no further pan-Rhodian interference or participation in them.⁷ Contrary to such efforts to protect traditional identity, elsewhere the new citizens were to participate in the traditional rites or in all affairs of the existing ones.⁸ This is how, for example, in the first half of the fourth century, the "Heliswasians are to become like and equal to Mantineans", while at least some of their own rites will continue to be performed.⁹ Furthermore, in the liberal polity of the sympolity agreement between Stiris and Medeon in Phocis, in the second century, "the Medeonians are to participate in all Stirian sacrifices and the Stirians to the Medeonian ones."¹⁰ These are only some aspects of a wide range of religious impacts of synoecism and sympolity cases included in Parker's exhaustive case study and appendix, based on diverse forms of a relationship of dependency between communities, with examples of earlier rituals' exclusion or investment of religious emotion on new deities.¹¹

However, political unification for the post-classical world was more than an issue involving direct agreement policy between the implicated parts, since many *poleis* foundations or re-foundations resulted from the decisions of the

³ NILSSON (1951), p. 18-25.

⁴ PARKER (2009), p. 183.

⁵ *Syll.*³, 1024; cf. REGER (2001), p. 157-181. PARKER (2009), p. 188.

⁶ *IG XII 1*, 761, l. 38-43; PARKER (2009), p. 205-210.

⁷ GABRIELSEN (2000), p. 177-206.

⁸ Cf. PARKER (2009), p. 189-190.

⁹ *SEG* 37, 340; THÜR, TAUBER (1994), 9 (Translation: PARKER [2009], p. 199).

¹⁰ *IG IX 1*, 32. Cf. PARKER (2009), p. 201-202.

¹¹ PARKER (2009), p. 183-214.

Hellenistic rulers.¹² In that case, unions' establishment was depending on instructions codified by the rulers themselves, which in the form of royal letters were dispatched to the local representatives of the royal court, or the magistrates of the implicated cities.¹³ Those instructions included also stipulations on the organization and re-establishment of a normal course in the religious life within the newly established communities. In the first mutilated lines of a letter of Antigonos Monophthalmos to Teos in 303, ordering physical synoecism between Teos and Lebedos, it is prescribed that the Lebedian delegate to Panionion should "tent and celebrate" with those coming from Teos and "should be called Tean himself."¹⁴

Unfortunately, the fragmentary character of the available documentation often deprives us from those specific instructions on the restructuring of the religious life. This is obviously the case of the fragmentary letter of Antiochos III to the Sardians, in 213, ordering the cutting of wood for the "synoikismos of the city,"¹⁵ as well as of a letter of Attalus I (?) to Mylasa ratifying sympolity with Chalcetor (228-223?).¹⁶

In general, royal correspondence ordering synoecism should be considered as the beginning of a ruler's usual interference in the local religious affairs following the creation of these post-classical royal foundations. An example is the *diagramma* ordering proper administration of the incomes of Sarapis in the Serapeion of Thessalonike in Macedonia (187), as well as the royal letter to the *epistates* of Demetrias in Thessaly prescribing the proper clothing to be worn by the royal hunters of Heracles Kynagidas (221-179), both issued by Philip V.¹⁷

However, due to the lack of adequate epigraphic documentation establishing the religious affairs of every political union, the decryption of the particular type of local *poleis* coalescence and ritual life usually requires the combination of additional elements to a simple reading of a literary passage, especially when the literary testimonies usually postdate the union itself, not to mention the overlap between the two terms of *synoikismos* and *sympoliteia*.¹⁸

In Thessaly, for example, although literary evidence demonstrates a certain number of political coalescences, especially following the establishment of the Macedonians in the region during the fourth and third century,¹⁹ only one epigraphic document is known to refer to them: the sympolity agreement

¹² COHEN (1995); MA (1999), p. 106-179; REGER (2004), p. 732-793.

¹³ WELLES (1934); HATZOPOULOS (2006), p. 82-92.

¹⁴ *Syll*³ 344, 1-4; *SEG* 15, 717, 1-4; WELLES (1934), nos. 3-4; PARKER (2009), p. 200.

¹⁵ *SEG* 39, 1283. Cf. MA (1999), p. 284-285.

¹⁶ WELLES (1934), no. 29.

¹⁷ *IG* X 2, 1, 3 (*diagramma*); cf. HATZOPOULOS (1996), no. 15. INTZESILOGLOU (2006), p. 67-77 (royal letter).

¹⁸ HANSEN (2004), 115-119. Cf. REGER (2004), p. 148-149; PARKER (2009), p. 187.

¹⁹ Cf. COHEN (1995), p. 109-120; HELLY (2009), p. 342-344.

between Gomphoi and Ithome in NW Thessaly.²⁰ On the contrary, in eastern Thessaly, there is a lack of documents negotiating this issue and thus complementary information resulting from the local archaeological data comes in assistance.

2. The synoecism of Demetrias under Macedonian rule

In the beginning of the third century (293), the Macedonian king Demetrius Poliorketes established a synoecism of the former Thessalian and Magnesians communities situated around the port of the Pagasetic Gulf and in the Magnesian peninsula respectively and created Demetrias at the inlet of the Gulf.²¹ According to later literary sources, this powerful city and cosmopolitan harbour was meant to constitute a “seat of the Macedonian kingdom (*basileion*)”, a “naval base” and one of the three “fettters” of Greece, along with Corinth and Chalcis.²² Following the issues related specifically to the re-organization of the local religious life after this large scale re-structuring of political order in eastern Thessaly at the dawn of the Hellenistic period will be addressed.

2.1. The royal letter

Unfortunately, the assignment to identify the nature of Demetrius’ synoecism is not provided with an explicit royal document, as – for example – the one ordering the synoecism between Lebedos and Teos.²³ However, a relevant – although fragmentary – royal letter was discovered in the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios at Dion and was originally assigned to Philip V.²⁴ Hatzopoulos has recently re-dated this document to 291 and assigned it to Demetrius Poliorketes, linking it with the establishment of Demetrias, in 293: “King Demetrius to Ladamas (?), greeting. I have established the delimitation of the territory belonging to the citizens of Demetrias and Pherai, as they have confined it to me.”²⁵ In this letter Demetrius actually commissions the border and landmarks between the territories of Pherai and the newly established Demetrias, ordering a certain Ladamas to put a landmark near the site called Iolkia.

This document constitutes an important piece of evidence with regards to the local topography, especially after its new dating (291). Although the actual royal order of the “how to do it” towards the foundation of the synoecism is missing,

²⁰ HELLY (1993), p. 167-200.

²¹ COHEN (1995), p. 111-114; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU (2002).

²² Strabo, IX, 4, 15; IX, 5, 15; cf. Livy, XXXII, 37, 3; cf., STÄHLIN, MEYER, HEIDNER (1934), p. 137-55; BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU (2002); COHEN (1995), p. 111-14.

²³ SEG 15, 717, 1-4.

²⁴ PANTERMALIS (1999), p. 57 (photo); cf. HATZOPOULOS (1996), p. 401-403.

²⁵ HATZOPOULOS (2006), p. 88-89 and pl. XIVa (with French translation adapted here); cf. *Bull. Epigr.* (2000), p. 453, 5.

Demetrius' letter delimitates the geo-political framework of the new royal foundation *vis-à-vis* the Thessalian inland and the territory of Pherai, the prominent neighbouring *polis* of the Thessalian *tetras* Pelasgiotis.²⁶

In particular, Pherai's territorial expansion had for long reached the coastline of the Pagasetic Gulf. It is generally agreed that the *poleis* located around the harbor of the inlet were, at least from the sixth century, subjects to the Thessalians,²⁷ whereas there was no community belonging to the Magnesians before the middle of the fourth century.²⁸ Herodotus mentions that Iolkos was already under the control of the Thessalians who offered it to the Athenian tyrant Hippias,²⁹ while other sources acknowledge Pagasai as the port of Pherai.³⁰ However, in the fourth century, Pseudo-Skylax included Iolkos among the Magnesian *poleis*;³¹ it certainly enjoyed at that time a *polis* status, since along with Pagasai, they struck coins bearing the ethnics ΙΩΛΚΙΩΝ and ΠΑΓΑΣΑΙΩΝ respectively.³² In the middle of the fourth century, these coastal *poleis* were handed over to the Macedonians.³³ Philip II fortified the port, Pagasai, and controlled all commercial activities by collecting their taxes, an action that provoked the anger of the Thessalians.³⁴

To sum up, the boundary enacted by Demetrius in the beginning of the third century, between the territories of Demetrias and Pherai, eventually promoted the definitive consolidation of the Macedonian control over the port, pushing Pherai towards the inland.

2.2. Evidence from literary sources

Most of the surviving evidence that describes the emergence of Demetrias in the geopolitical scenery of the biggest natural harbour in Thessaly consists of literary sources post-dating the foundation itself. Strabo mentions that "Demetrius founded Demetrias nearby the sea, between Neleia and Pagasai, having synoecized (*synoikisas*) the nearby *polichnai*, Neleia, Pagasai, Ormenion and also Rhizous, Sepias, Olizon, Boibe and Iolkos, which are now *komai* of Demetrias."³⁵ Also, Plutarch states that "Demetrias was created from *polichnai*

²⁶ DECOURT, NIELSEN, HELLY *et al.* (2004), p. 704.

²⁷ BAKHUIZEN (1987), p. 321; HELLY (2006), esp. p. 146-147.

²⁸ HELLY (2006), esp. p. 158-163.

²⁹ Herodotus, V, 94.

³⁰ Theopompus, 115 F 53 (ed. JACOBY); Demosthenes, *Olynth.* I, 12, 22.

³¹ Pseudo-Skylax, *Periplus*, 65.

³² LIAMPI (2005), p. 23-40.

³³ Cf. HELLY (2006), p. 155-158.

³⁴ Demosthenes, I, 22.

³⁵ Strabo, IX, 5, 15.

placed near Iolkos.³⁶ These most important, though quite enigmatic, passages deliver names of local small communities (*polichnai*) participating in the synoecism and becoming *komai* of Demetrias.

However, other important information is to be found in Skylax, predating the synoecism, and in the much later Pliny; besides the *polichnai* enumerated by Strabo and Plutarch, some local *poleis* names have been assigned by them to the Magnesian peninsula.³⁷ Then, were those extra *poleis* included in the synoecism? And, finally, what is the exact number, the location, the names and the status(es) of the synoecized communities?

Unfortunately, the study of the political geography of the small plain on the bay of the Pagasetic Gulf and the Magnesian peninsula as a whole has not reached safe conclusions regarding the identification and location of these settlements, as most identifications are not corroborated by epigraphic evidence, and often contradict each other;³⁸ only the fortified city of Demetrias has been securely identified and excavated.³⁹ In addition, although the later sources⁴⁰ mention various names that became *komai* of Demetrias and even though *komai* are epigraphically attested for other contemporary royal foundations in Macedonia, there is no epigraphic evidence for post-classical *komai* in the region of Demetrias.⁴¹ Consequently, the nature of the early synoecism is inadequately understood: was there a physical synoecism involving large/small scale urban relocation and population transfer or a political one?⁴² What happened to the cults of the old communities?

3. Archaeology, religion and synoecism in Demetrias

Since most of the settlements involved in the synoecism are not located or securely identified, neither are most of their cult places;⁴³ this fact deprives us from appreciating the interface of religious life before and within the

³⁶ Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 53, 7.

³⁷ Pseudo-Skylax, 65: "Magnesians constitute an *ethnos* living close to the sea, while their *poleis* include Iolkos, Methone, Korakai, Spalauthra, Olizon, the port of Issai; outside of the Pagasetic Gulf are located Meliboea, Rhizous, Eryrmenai, Myrai". Plinius, *Natural History* IV, 9, 16: "Magnesia's *poleis* are Iolkos, Ormenium, Pyrrha, Methone and Olizon with the promontory of Sepias. We then come to the *poleis* of Meliboea, Rhizus and Eryrmenae; the mouth of Peneus, the *polis* of Homolium...".

³⁸ For example, WACE (1906); BAKHUIZEN (1992); INTZESILOGLOU (1994), p. 31-56; HELLY (2004), p. 101-124; HELLY (2006), p. 145-169.

³⁹ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU (2002).

⁴⁰ Strabo, IX, 5, 15.

⁴¹ Cf. INTZESILOGLOU (1996), p. 91-109; on *komai* in Macedonia, HATZOPOULOS (1996), p. 120-121.

⁴² HANSEN (2004), p. 115-119; REGER (2004), p. 145-180.

⁴³ Cf. KRAVARITOU (forthcoming).

synoecism. In addition, even for the securely identified *polis* of Demetrias itself there are significant problems regarding the identification and the attribution of its cult places. Firstly, the diachronic and continuous habitation in the small plain of the head of the Pagasetic Gulf made the transportation and re-use of its stone material an extremely widespread practice; consequently, epigraphic material related to cults is usually found out of context.⁴⁴ Secondly, the votive landscape is shrouded in mist, since most of the material remains unpublished, thus undated and even currently unidentifiable.⁴⁵

3.1. . . . the Thessalian background

A first overview of the archaeological evidence related to settlement ruins that were brought to light in the area of the future *polis* of Demetrias strongly indicates that at the end of the fourth/beginning of the third century BC almost all settlements and their cult places are abandoned. On the SW edge of the inlet, the suburban sanctuary, along with the archaic and classical city located on the hill Soros (ancient Amphanai? Pagasai?), contain no finds postdating the early third century. Fourth-century artefacts were found scattered in the sanctuary's *pronaos* and the two lateral rooms, both closed permanently ever since (*Table 1, 2-3*). This sanctuary has been tentatively attributed to Apollo (Pagasaïos?) (*Table 1, 1 and 5-6*); fourth-century coins issued by Pagasai bear the head of the poliadic divinity Apollo Pagasaïos (*Table 1, 4*). Furthermore, on the western part of the inlet, the remains of a Doric temple that is situated under the modern church of Ag. Theodoroi (*Table 1, 12-14*) on the hill Palia/Kastro of Volos, has been attributed to Artemis Iolkia, the poliadic divinity depicted on the fourth-century coins of classical Iolkos (*Table 1, 15*). The city has been tentatively identified with the Classical deposits at Palia that can be associated with contemporary graves of the neighboring cemetery at Nea Ionia.⁴⁶ The Geometric and Classical finds discovered within the ruins of the temple combined with the lack of posterior evidence suggest the abandonment of both sanctuary and settlement in the early third century. Furthermore, on the NE edge of the inlet, the late Classical/early Hellenistic fortified settlement on the hill of Goritsa (ancient Methone?), where a cave dedicated to Zeus Meilichios has been excavated (*Table 1, 44*), was also abandoned at the same time.⁴⁷ Finally, besides the ruins on the hill Soros, two more sites with classical deposits have been put forward as Pagasai. They are both situated beneath later Demetrias,⁴⁸ thus, their stone material was either destroyed or re-used and consequently the

⁴⁴ *IG IX 2, 1101; 1107a-b* (found 20 km from Demetrias).

⁴⁵ Cf. STAMATOPOULOU (2004-2009).

⁴⁶ MALAKASIOTI (1998), p. 419-422.

⁴⁷ BAKHUIZEN (1992); cf. HELLY (2006).

⁴⁸ STÄHLIN, MEYER, HEIDNER (1934).

identification of cult places is seriously obstructed. However, traces of two sanctuaries that seem to antedate the synoecism were excavated in the area, by Arvanitopoulos, and were attributed to Herakles and Hera respectively (*Table 1, 25 and 28*). Also, traces of an altar/exedra(?) to a *prothyraia* divinity – probably Ennodia, the great Pheraian Goddess – was located on the main road leading from Pagasai to Pherai (*Table 1, 23*); also, a votive stele to Ennodia Patroa belongs to the same classical deposits beneath Demetrias (*Table 1, 24*). Pherai's presence on the inlet had surely influenced the local cult landscape; Theopompus mentions the cult of Dionysus Pelekys at Pagasai (*Table 1, 22*), with strong relations to Pherai, while Hermes Chthonios (*Table 1, 30*), the prominent Thessalian divinity, is depicted on funerary monuments and connected with the afterlife voyage of the dead⁴⁹.

In addition, an archaic and classical sanctuary was recently discovered at the locality Spartias, situated also along the classical road between Pherai and Pagasai; a votive inscription to Herakles, a divinity strongly related to the fifth century foundation myths of Pherai, was uncovered from the ruins (*Table 1, 26-27*). This critical road of communication⁵⁰, exchange and commercial activities between inner Thessaly and the Aegean would have hosted more peri-urban and rural sanctuaries, whose fate might have been modified after the enactment of the border polity between Demetrias and Pherai by Demetrius; in the absence of excavated material, this issue remains subject to future investigation.

Furthermore, outside the area of the inlet of the Gulf, an early sanctuary dedicated to Zeus Akraios and most probably a cave of Chiron were unearthed on the summit of Mount Pelion (*Table 1, 42-43*), as well as an archaic and a classical layer of the sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios at modern Korope (Ancient Korope?) (*Table 1, 7-10*). As far as the rest of the peninsula is concerned, due to the absence of systematic excavations most of the settlements – whose presence is attested in the ancient sources – are not yet located or securely identified.⁵¹ Consequently, eventual population transfer from this area or cult relocation in terms of the synoecism cannot be identified for the moment. A classical sanctuary – Artemis Tisaia (?) – has been partially uncovered at Theotokou (*Table 1, 16-18*), while a strong presence of heroic and other poliadic cults is indicated by fourth-century coins issued by the Magnesian communities, which bear representations of them (*Table 1, 11, 20-21, 32-33, 41*).

To sum up, since the early settlements in the area of the future polis of Demetrias – except of that/those beneath its ruins – were abandoned at the beginning of the third century, we conclude that Demetrius' synoecism might have involved – at least for the area of the inlet of the Gulf – physical

⁴⁹ AVAGIANOU (2002).

⁵⁰ ARVANITOPOULOS (1911a), p. 301-303.

⁵¹ For ex. Meliboia; cf. TZIAPHALIAS, INTZESILOGLOU, HELLY (2010).

synoecism and population transfer, implying also the abandonment of the old *agoras* and main cult places and, thus, a total “rethinking” of the region’s sacred space. Most of the cults attested in the area of the future *polis* of Demetrias – Apollo(?) of Soros and Korope, Ennodia, Heracles and surely Hermes Chthonios – should be assigned to the “proper Thessalian background” that – according to Helly – predate not only the synoecism but also the installation of the Magnetes on the southern part of Pelion and the bay in the fourth century.⁵² Is there any visible impact of this cultic background on the restructuring of religious life within the synoecism of Demetrias?

3.2. ... cultic background and royal foundation

Although archaeological research in the *polis* of Demetrias is ongoing and the entire city has not yet been investigated, there is important evidence implying a certain degree of re-appraisal of local traditional religious patterns, which have actually found a place, after 293, in the urban tissue and the newly established religious landscape of the royal foundation.

The figure of Hermes Chthonios, the most prominent divinity of the “proper Thessalian background”, which was associated with post-mortem popular beliefs, is still present; surprisingly, he is depicted in almost all funerary *stelai* of Demetrias beside or below the painted scene with the deceased (*Table 2, 44*). In a new funerary context characterized by the multicultural identity of the dead and where the typology of the *stelai* is not of Thessalian origin, Hermes Chthonios, slightly modified, finds his place as a painted herm, while his name is never written on the *stelai*.⁵³

Furthermore, two more cults of the Thessalian sub-stratum were adapted in Demetrias. The Pheraean Goddess Ennodia, along with Artemis Ennodia and Ennodia Hecate (*Table 2, 11-12, 37*), are amalgamated with new feminine Hellenistic deities, like Pasikrata and the Mother of the Gods (*Table 2, 29, 31, 50*)⁵⁴ Also, there are traces of Heracles’ cult (*Table 2, 40*).

In addition, a temple of Artemis Iolkia, the poliadic divinity of Iolkos, in the *agora* of the new *polis* adjacent to the palace attests that this early prominent cult was relocated in the new city (*Table 2, 13*). The popularity of the Iolkian Artemis, praised by the contemporary Apollonius of Rhodes⁵⁵ and represented on third-century coins issued by Demetrius (*Table 2, 14*), made it an ideal vehicle for promoting the new *polis* identity and the naval plans of Demetrias,

⁵² HELLY (2006), p. 146-163.

⁵³ WOLTERS (1975), p. 86-87, n. 5 ; STAMATOPOULOU (1999), p. 153-162.

⁵⁴ CHRYSOSTOMOU (1998), p. 187-230.

⁵⁵ Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* I, 570-572; III, 312.

by forging a bond with the remote Greek legendary past: the panhellenic nautical expedition of the Argonauts.

Finally, archaeological evidence suggests that the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Chiron on the summit of Mount Pelion (*Table 2, 58, 60*) and the oracular sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios at Korope (*Table 2, 4-6*) continued to exist throughout the Hellenistic period until late antiquity, as extra-urban sanctuaries of Demetrias. The city organised yearly processions to them during the festival days of the Gods; foreigners are also attested as visitors of the famous oracle of Apollo at Korope.⁵⁶

3.3. New Cults and royal foundation

Although the aforementioned evidence clearly indicates the continuation of cults from the early religious sub-stratum of the region into the new city, we should not forget that Demetrias was a Macedonian city and *basileion*,⁵⁷ founded to serve as royal residence from its creation until the decline of the Macedonian presence in the region and the advent of the Romans in 168. Thus, we would normally expect traces of the Macedonian presence on a cultic level.

An edict of Philip V attests the existence of the cult of Heracles Kynagidas, with parallels in Macedonia relating to local social institutions (*Table 2, 43*); *kynegoi*, according to Hatzopoulos, were the royal ephebes in charge of the forests and the royal hunts.⁵⁸ Thus, this cult conforms to the presence of the *basileion* and the *basilike chora*, in Demetrias.⁵⁹

Furthermore, an amalgamation of old and new motifs, in order to construct a new religious and political identity in the newly founded Demetrias, is perfectly attested by two third-century resolutions from Iolkos and Glaphyrai, mentioning the presence of a new common cult of the *archegetai kai ktistai* (*Table 2, 8*) into Demetrias and its *chora*, as well as of an *archegeteion* – the official cult seat. Marzolff identified it with the so-called “heroon/mausoleum” of Demetrius, an important building with fine sculpted architectural decoration of Ionic style, located at a prominent position above the theatre within the walls of Demetrias (*Table 2, 9*). However, the lack of epigraphic corroboration and the fact that it was left unfinished allow for the moment only speculation regarding its character. The presence of the *archegeteion* in Demetrias, along with eventual celebrations commemorating the synoecism’s foundation, are perfectly justified by the politics of the synoecism (*cf.* the *Synoikia* in Athens), although this does not exclude the possibility of cult celebration on the minor synoecized

⁵⁶ IG IX 2, 1109a.

⁵⁷ Strabo, IX, 4, 15.

⁵⁸ HATZOPOULOS (1994), p. 102-111.

⁵⁹ BATZIOU-EFSTATHIOU and PIKOULAS (2006), p. 79-89.

communities. Obviously, the heroic cults of these former *poleis* commemorating the progenitors of their proper genealogy were now replaced by this new common cult in honour of old heroes and new royal founders of Demetrias.

The ruler's cult, being the best mode of post-classical religious expression among Greek communities, has surely left important traces on Demetrias' ritual landscape. Thus, the cult scene described by the Glaphyrai decree delivers a prestigious ritual performed by more than one priests and a board of magistrates.⁶⁰ However, the opisthographic decree of the *demos* of Iolkos, dated to the reign of Antigonos, claims restoration of the local heroes' cults,⁶¹ and it was generally considered as proof of the local discontentment towards the Macedonian domination. As I have recently argued elsewhere,⁶² this hypothesis seems unlikely because it opposes the general structure and the language of the inscription, which attests Hellenistic negotiation patterns between *poleis* and Macedonian kings. Side A follows the *evergetism* model, praising the kings for their goodwill towards Iolkos' ancestral cults, while side B negotiates with them – obviously during an internal lack of 'resources' – the financing of local rituals traditionally undertaken by the *demos* itself. Furthermore, as I have also proposed,⁶³ in the time of the Iolkos inscription this royal cult included the two Macedonian kings, Antigonos and Demetrius together. This is indicated by the fact that both kings are praised together in the honorary decree of side A, while side B relates to the sacrifices for the 'archegetai and ktistai'. Also the term *ktistai* is used in plural form indicating cult for more than one founder; finally, although Demetrius Poliorketes founded the synoecism of Demetrias, the study of the urban development of the city indicated that the long peaceful reign of Antigonos Gonatas was instrumental for the dynamic development of the city and its public and private sectors. In this respect, it would be appropriate for Demetrias to bestow honours upon both kings. Moreover, almost fifty years later, a statue base for Antigonos Doson and Philip V attests the dynamic development of the royal cult in Demetrias (*Table 2, 1*).

Furthermore, the royal polity over the annual religious year of Demetrias included reform of the calendar month names. A new calendar with twelve months named after the twelve Gods, known also from other Macedonian

⁶⁰ IG IX 2, 1099a, l. 1-11: "... [the performance of the sacrifice] ... the magistr[a]tes must provide for ... the [ex]pense [for] the [o]x must be [p]aid by th[e] tr[ea]surer [and] by hi[m] who is in [charge] of [....] [and] [th]e sacrifice [must be placed under the supervision of the priests and of those being at the public records, while the magistrates will be in charge of th[e] banquet" (Translation: author).

⁶¹ MEYER (1936), l. B1-6: "Since, the common [sacrifices for the archegetai and ktistai] are limited, [and no other] sacrifices are performed, [the demos of the Iolkians] shall sacrifice according to the ancestral customs, [to the arche]getai and ktistai [of the demos, so as not to be, from them, any] wrath [towards the city for neglecting] the heroes, ..." (Translation: author)

⁶² KRAVARITOU (forthcoming)

⁶³ *Ibid.*

royal foundations, was introduced in Demetrias.⁶⁴ Hatzopoulos assigned it to the Platonic influence exercised in the Macedonian court.⁶⁵ Since month names relate to festivals in honor of divinities acting in the local legendary past, calendars were always a vehicle of historical remembrance and collective identity; thus, by introducing theophoric month names, the normal course of local collective memory was strongly deviated.

Also, more innovations in cultic life are also attested. A sanctuary excavated by Arvanitopoulos in the eastern sector of the city was identified with the Thesmophorion, mainly due to a third-century inscription attesting repair-work “on the sanctuary of Demeter, Kore and Plouton, where the Thesmophorion stood in the past” (*Table 2, 32*). Also, votive deposits outside the southern gates of the *polis*’ fortification attest to the presence of the cult of Pasikrata, related to Artemis Hecate, Ennodia and Aphrodite (*Table 2, 50-51*). All these feminine deities share an abundant votive record that is currently, in its major part, unpublished. Future studies will demonstrate if eventually some of these votive objects were dedicated to those divinities in order to commemorate the end of the period of girls’ service in the sanctuaries of feminine deities’, as it happens with their counterparts in Macedonia and even elsewhere in Thessaly, already from the Classical period.⁶⁶

3.4. Foreign cults

Close to the Thesmophorion stands another building tentatively identified with the Metroon of the city, the official cult seat of the Phrygian goddess Cybele (*Table 2, 29-30*), while Arvanitopoulos reports the presence of a ‘small temple of Cybele’ at Pagasai (*Table 2, 31*).⁶⁷ Also, the cosmopolitan landscape of Demetrias hosted many Egyptian divinities; their official cult seat, the Serapieion, is currently unlocated (*Table 2, 49, 54-56*).⁶⁸ Their cults survived down to the Roman period. The presence of an Egyptian priest of Isis and a Phoenician one (*Table 2, 36, 47*) indicate that – in a multicultural political environment – priesthood in foreign cults was equally undertaken by foreigners. In addition, in Roman times, there is evidence for the cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis (*Table 2, 25*), while A. Arvanitopoulos reported also an *intramuros* sanctuary of Harpokrates (*Table 2, 38*).

⁶⁴ TRÜMPY (1997), p. 266-267.

⁶⁵ HATZOPOULOS (1996), p. 163-164.

⁶⁶ Cf. HATZOPOULOS (2006), p. 54-55.

⁶⁷ ARVANITOPOULOS (1916), p. 31.

⁶⁸ DECOURT, TZIAFALIAS (2007).

4. The Magnesian *Koinon*: cults and politics

After the Flaminian intervention in the Greek affairs, Macedonians left Demetrias which received a Roman garrison until 191, when the city became the capital of the first Magnesian *Koinon*. Macedonians returned briefly in 191, before releasing permanent control to the second *Koinon* and to the Romans, after the battle of Pydna.⁶⁹ Thus, after the Macedonians, the political landscape is reformed once again, since independent communities, called *poleis*, as well as various demotic names,⁷⁰ are now epigraphically attested. Naturally, another restructuring of the religious life followed the new socio-political landscape.

Besides the cults of foreign divinities that survived down to the Roman period (Table 2, 56), old Poliadic cults (Aphrodite Neleia, Artemis Pagaseitis, etc.) revive in a nostalgic atmosphere for the traditional cults of the region (Table 2, 2-3, 7, 17). In that context, the old Artemis Iolkia, Zeus Akraios and Apollon Koropaios now become the tutelary deities of the *Koinon* (Table 2, 6, 15-16, 59-60), while Zeus Akraios, Chiron and the Argo-ship are depicted on its coins (Table 2, 27, 61). Priestly authorities of the tutelary cults are seated in Demetrias, while yearly processions to the extra-urban sanctuaries of Akraios and Koropaios at the extremities of the *chora* of Demetrias, point to the necessity for symbolic demarcation of the limitrophe areas, just before the final decline and dwindling of the *polis*.

Furthermore, during the 1st cent., the cult of the ruling powers in Demetrias finds other destinators: the powerful and divine Roman emperors, who – besides the old poliadic deities – receive the interest and the honours of the Magnesian *Koinon* (Table 2, 64-72). “Gaius Julius Cesar Emperor God” and “God, son of God, Titus Cesar, New Apollo, Benefactor” are some of the Emperors who joined the divine sphere and received honors in Demetrias. A votive inscription to the “Olympian Gods and Major Savior Emperor Lucius Septimus Sevirus Pertinakis” testifies the inclusion of the imperial cult in the sphere of the cult of the Olympian Gods. Honorific statues and votive inscriptions were also erected in honor of other emperors, who probably enjoyed themselves the same divine status, at least until the coming of the Christian God.

Conclusion

This preliminary study of the religious interface of Hellenistic Demetrias strongly indicates re-organization of the local cult activities after the establishment of the local synoecism. The inevitable presence of Macedonian cults –

⁶⁹ INTZESILOGLOU (1996).

⁷⁰ IG IX.2 1101; 1102; 1103; IG IX.2 1108; 1133; SEG 12, 306 (*poleis*). SEG 3, 405; IG IX.2 1109, l. 2-8; SEG XXXIV 553 (*demotika*: *Iolkios*, *Glaphyreus*, *Spalathreus*, *Aeoleus*, *Pagasites*, *Koropaios*, *Demetrieus*).

including cult of the ruling powers – seals the political identity of this *basileion*, which in addition used a new calendar of month-names, proper to other royal foundations. However, an overview of the available archaeological evidence demonstrates that at least some of the cults of the old local “Thessalian backround” were incorporated into the new *polis*. In detail, the presence of the prominent Iolkian Artemis in the *agora* of Demetrias suggests a certain re-appraisal of old motifs by the *polis* royal administration. Also, the presence of Hermes Chthonios on the funerary *stelai* attests that this re-appraisal operated also on a wide popular basis; and, surely, on a multicultural one,⁷¹ since Hermes is depicted on funerary *stelai* belonging also to foreigners.⁷² This fact, along with the presence of the organised cult of foreign deities, point out that, besides a synoecism of old Thessalian communities and a Macedonian seat, Demetrias was during the Hellenistic period a cosmopolitan city and an international harbor. In Roman times, the emotional bewilderment of Greek reality in front of new political powers reflects on the religious attitude of the Magnesians *Koinon*, wavering between traditional deities and divinized Emperors.

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⁷¹ On multiculturalism and the sacred space in Demetrias, see KRAVARITOU (in preparation).

⁷² Personal communication with Maria Stamatopoulou; cf. STAMATOPOULOU (in preparation).

Catalogue of Cults

Table 1. Archaic-Classical period				
	Cult	Evidence	Date	Site
1.	Apollo Pagasaïos ⁷³	Altar	Archaic	Pagasaï
2.	Apollo Pagasaïos? ⁷⁴	Suburban sanctuary. Votive objects	Archaic	Soros (ancient Amphanai? Pagasaï?)
3.	<i>id.</i> ⁷⁵	<i>id.</i>	Classical	<i>id.</i>
4.	Apollo Pagasaïos ⁷⁶	Coins	4 th cent.	Pagasaï (legend ΠΑΓΑΣΑΙΩΝ)
5.	Apollo? ⁷⁷	Votive column	5 th cent.	<i>id.</i>
6.	Apollo ⁷⁸	Votive base	4 th cent.	<i>id.</i>
7.	Apollo Koropaïos? ⁷⁹	Architectural material	Archaic	Korope (ancient Korope?)
8.	<i>id.</i> ⁸⁰	“Sacred law”	6 th cent.	<i>id.</i>
9.	Apollo Koropaïos ⁸¹	Architectural material and finds	Classical	<i>id.</i>
10.	<i>id.</i> ⁸²	“Sacred law”	5 th cent.	<i>id.</i>
11.	Artemis ⁸³	Head on coins	<i>id.</i>	Rhizous
12.	Artemis Iolkia? ⁸⁴	Sanctuary	Geometric	Palia/Kastro of Volos (ancient Iolkos?)
13.	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	Archaic	<i>id.</i>
14.	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	Classical	<i>id.</i>
15.	Artemis Iolkia ⁸⁵	Head of Artemis on coins	4 th cent.	Iolkos (legend ΙΩΛΚΕΩΝ)

⁷³ Hesiod, *Aspis*, 70.

⁷⁴ MAZARAKIS (2009), p. 278; (2011), p. 148-167.

⁷⁵ MAZARAKIS (2009), p. 273-278; *ibid.*

⁷⁶ LIAMPI (2005), p. 30-35, plate 3 (3).

⁷⁷ MILOJCIC (1974), p. 74. Cf. MAZARAKIS (2009), p. 273, n. 33.

⁷⁸ MILOJCIC (1974), p. 65.

⁷⁹ PAPACHATZIS (1960), fig. 6.

⁸⁰ IG IX 2, 1202.

⁸¹ PAPACHATZIS (1960), p. 4-14.

⁸² IG IX 2, 1203.

⁸³ ROGERS (1932), 535-536. HELLY (2004), pl. 3, 19-21.

⁸⁴ ARVANITOPOULOS (1909a), p. 157-158.

⁸⁵ LIAMPI (2005), p. 23-30, pl. 3 (1-2).

16.	Artemis Tisaia? ⁸⁶	Poros architectural material and finds	Archaic	Near Palaiokastro at Theotokou (ancient Sepias?)
17.	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	Classical	<i>id.</i>
18.	Artemis Tisaia ⁸⁷	Temple	Roman reference	Coastal Pelion, opposite Skiathos
19.	Asclepios ⁸⁸	Stone relief	Classical?	Palaiokastro at Theotokou (Ancient Sepias?)
20.	Dionysos ⁸⁹	Coins	400-344	Meliboiia
21.	<i>id.</i> ⁹⁰	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	Eyrymenai
22.	Dionysos Pelekys ⁹¹	Festival	4th cent.	Pagasai
23.	Ennodia / prothyraia divinity? ⁹²	Altar? Exedra? Cavities for <i>stela</i> ?s bases	Classical	Bourboulithra, on the road to Pherai
24.	Ennodia Patroa ⁹³	Stone stele with votive inscription	4 th cent.	Beneath Demetrias (Ancient Pagasai?)
25.	Hera ⁹⁴	Boundary stele	Archaic	Aibaliotika (ancient Pagasai?)
26.	Heracles ⁹⁵	Architectural material (altar) and votive deposits	<i>id.</i>	Spartias (on the ancient road to Pherai)
27.	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	Classical	<i>id.</i>
28.	Heracles? ⁹⁶	Shrine and finds	4 th /3 rd cent.	North of Demetrias' theater
29.	Hermes ⁹⁷	Votive base	5 th cent.	Soros' region (Ancient Amphanai?)
30.	Hermes <i>Chthonios</i> ⁹⁸	Funerary stele	Late Classical /	Beneath Demetrias

⁸⁶ WACE, DROOP (1906-1907). ADRIMI-SISMANI (1996).

⁸⁷ Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* II, 7.

⁸⁸ LIAPIS (2004), p. 96.

⁸⁹ ROGERS (1932), 389. HELLY (2004), pl. 3, 17.

⁹⁰ ROGERS (1932), 212-213. HELLY (2004), pl. 3, 23-24.

⁹¹ Theopompus in *Scholía in Hom. Il.* XXIV, 428.

⁹² ARVANITOPOULOS (1915), p. 182-183

⁹³ *IG IX 2*, 358.

⁹⁴ ARVANITOPOULOS (1915), p. 159.

⁹⁵ ARVANITOPOULOS (1911a), p. 300-301; INTZESILOGLOU (1999), p. 405; also in *Ethnos*, 7.9. 2007.

⁹⁶ ARVANITOPOULOS (1915), p. 161-162.

⁹⁷ ARVANITOPOULOS (1909a), p. 164.

⁹⁸ ARVANITOPOULOS (1909b), p. 364.

			Early Hellenistic	(Classical Pagasai?)
31.	Nymphs ⁹⁹	Votive <i>stelai</i> , pottery, terracotta figurines, bronze jewellery	Late Classical / Early Hellenistic	Mount Ossa
32.	Nymphs or Maenads ¹⁰⁰	Coins	400-344	Eyreai and Meliboia
33.	Philoctetes ¹⁰¹	Head of Ph. depicted on coins	350 or earlier	Homolion
34.	Poseidon? ¹⁰²	Votive	5 th cent.	Soros (ancient Amphanai? Pagasai?)
35.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁰³	Votive stele	5 th cent.	Aligarorema (ancient Pagasai?)
36.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁰⁴	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	Walled in the Monastery of Saint Demetrius (Stomion. Mount Ossa)
37.	Themis ¹⁰⁵	Sacred property	Classical	Kokkino Nero (ancient Eyrymenai?)
38.	Themis Agoraia ¹⁰⁶	Votive <i>stèle</i>	<i>id.</i>	Chorto (ancient Spalauthra?)
39.	Twelve Gods ¹⁰⁷	Marble <i>Dodekatheon</i> (Apollo, Poseidon and Athena)	5 th cent.	Polydendri (ancient Meliboia? Eureai?)
40.	Zeus ¹⁰⁸	Temple and pottery	Classical	Laspochori on Mount Ossa (ancient Homolion? Eyrymenai?)
41.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁰⁹	Coins	4 th cent.	Rhizous
42.	Zeus Akraios ¹¹⁰	Sanctuary, inscriptions, pottery, finds	Classical	Summit of Mount Pelion

⁹⁹ ARVANITOPOULOS (1911a), p. 284-285.

¹⁰⁰ ROGERS (1932), 210, 211a, 391-393. HELLY 2004, pl. 1-2.

¹⁰¹ ROGERS (1932), 257-260. HELLY (2004), pl. 4.

¹⁰² *Cf. l.c.* (n. 73).

¹⁰³ GIANNOPOULOS (1933), p. 4, 12.

¹⁰⁴ INTZESIOGLOU (2000), tabl. 80-81.

¹⁰⁵ SEG 37, 491

¹⁰⁶ ARVANITOPOULOS (1909b), p. 300-301.

¹⁰⁷ GIANNOPOULOS (1932), p. 19, 2-4

¹⁰⁸ ARVANITOPOULOS (1911a), p. 284-285.

¹⁰⁹ ROGERS (1932), nos. 357-358; HELLY (2004), pl. 3, 18.

¹¹⁰ ARVANITOPOULOS (1911a), p. 305-315.

43.	Zeus Akraios and Chiron ¹¹¹	Sanctuary, precinct/cave	4 th cent.	<i>id.</i>
44	Zeus Milichios ¹¹²	Cave.Votive inscription	4 th /3 rd cent.	Goritsa (Ancient Methone?)
45.		“Sacred law” ¹¹³	5 th cent.	Palaiotrikery (Ancient Kikynethos)

Table 2. Hellenistic-Roman period

	Cult	Evidence	Date	Site
1.	Antigonos Doson and Philip V ¹¹⁴	Votive base	227-221	Demetrias
2.	Aphrodite Neleia ¹¹⁵	Votive stele (priestess)	2 nd cent.	<i>id.</i>
3.	Aphrodite Neleia ¹¹⁶	Coins of the Magnesian Koinon	Imperial	<i>id.</i>
4.	Apollo Koropaios? ¹¹⁷	Finds nearby archaic architectural elements	Hellenistic	Korope (Ancient Korope ?)
5.	Apollo Koropaios ¹¹⁸	Decree on the function of the oracle	2 nd cent.	<i>id.</i>
6.	<i>id.</i> ¹¹⁹	Public decrees	2 nd cent.	Demetrias
7.	Apollo Koropeites ¹²⁰	Votive stele	Roman	Korope (Ancient Korope?)
8.	<i>Archegetai</i> and <i>ketistai</i> ¹²¹	Public resolutions	3 rd cent.	Iolkos, Glaphyrai? (<i>komai</i> ?) of Demetrias)
9.	<i>id.</i> ¹²²	Heroon/Mausoleum?	4 th /3 rd cent.?	Demetrias. Hill 84
10.	Artemis ¹²³	Marble statuettes	Hellenistic	Museum of Volos

¹¹¹ Herakleides, in Pseudo-Dichaearchus 2,8 (GGM I, 107, ed. MÜLLER).

¹¹² SEG 41, 533.

¹¹³ IG IX 2, 1222.

¹¹⁴ SEG 22, 308.

¹¹⁵ IG IX 2, 1125.

¹¹⁶ WACE (1906), p. 168.

¹¹⁷ PAPACHATZIS (1960), p. 3-24

¹¹⁸ IG IX 2, 1109a

¹¹⁹ IG IX 2, 1110; 1202.

¹²⁰ IG IX 2, 1204

¹²¹ IG IX 2, 1099 a-c. MEYER (1936), p. 367-376.

¹²² MARZOLFF (1987), p. 1-47.

11.	Artemis Ennodia ¹²⁴	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>	Demetrias
12.	Artemis Ennodia ¹²⁵	Stone altar with votive inscription	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>
13.	Artemis Iolkia ¹²⁶	Temple	<i>id.</i>	Demetrias. Agora.
14.	<i>id.</i> ¹²⁷	Head on coins	3 rd cent.	Demetrias (legend ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ)
15.	<i>id.</i> ¹²⁸	Public decrees	2 nd cent.	<i>id.</i>
16.	<i>id.</i> ¹²⁹	(Priestess)	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>
17.	Artemis Pagasitis ¹³⁰	Votive stele	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>
18.	Artemis Soteira ¹³¹	Sanctuary in the <i>agora</i> of Spalauthra	130-126	Chorto (Ancient Spalauthra?)
19.	Asclepios ¹³²	Public decree	Hellenistic	Demetrias
20.	<i>id.</i> ¹³³	Votive stele (priest)	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>
21.	<i>id.</i> ¹³⁴	Head on coins	197/146	<i>id.</i>
22.	<i>id.</i> ¹³⁵	Small votive altar	Roman	<i>id.</i>
23.	<i>id.</i> ¹³⁶	Coins of the Magnesian <i>Koinon</i>	46-27	<i>id.</i>
24.	Asclepios and Hygeia ¹³⁷	Votive stele	Roman	<i>id.</i>
25.	Atargates ¹³⁸	Votive relief (priestess)	3 rd /4 th cent. AD	<i>id.</i>
26.	Athena ¹³⁹	Priestess	Late Hellenistic	<i>id.</i>

¹²³ MITROPOULOU (1992).

¹²⁴ CHRYSOSTOMOU (1998), p. 191-192.

¹²⁵ SEG 48, 658.

¹²⁶ IG V 2, 367. BATZIOU (2002), p. 29-30.

¹²⁷ SEAR (1978), p. 201, 207.

¹²⁸ IG IX.2, 1109.

¹²⁹ IG IX 2, 1122.

¹³⁰ IG IX 2, 1123

¹³¹ IG IX 2, 1111

¹³² IG IX 2, 1126

¹³³ THEOCHARIS, CHOURMOUZIADIS (1968), p. 269.

¹³⁴ ROGERS (1932), 354, fig. 177-178.

¹³⁵ MITROPOULOU (1994), 488, fig. 2.

¹³⁶ ROGERS (1932), no. 355a-b, fig. 180.

¹³⁷ IG IX 2, 1124

¹³⁸ SEG 26, 646.

¹³⁹ SEG 37, 461.

			/ Early Roman	
27.	Chiron ¹⁴⁰	Coin of the Magesian <i>Koinon</i>	196-194	<i>id.</i>
28.	Chiron and Zeus Akraios ¹⁴¹	Cave of Chiron and sanctuary of Zeus Akraios	3 rd cent.	Summit of Mount Pelion
29.	Cybele? ¹⁴²	Metroon?	Last quarter of 3 rd -1 st quarter of 2 nd cent.	Demetrias
30.	Cybele, Aphrodite Epitragia, Ennodia, Hecate and Zeus Milichius ¹⁴³	Clay figurines	Hellenistic	<i>id.</i>
31.	Cybele? ¹⁴⁴	'Small temple' and clay figurines	Hellenistic?	<i>id.</i>
32.	Demeter, Kore, Plouton ¹⁴⁵	Public decree (Thesmophorion and <i>temenos</i> of Demeter)	Late 3 rd cent.	<i>id.</i>
33.	Dionysos ¹⁴⁶	Votive	3 rd cent.	Kaprena (Ancient Glaphyrai?)
34.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁴⁷	<i>id.</i>	Hellenistic?	Palaiokastro at Lechonia (Ancient Methone?)
35.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁴⁸	Priest	2 nd cent.	Polydendri (Ancient Meliboia? Eureai?)
36.	Egyptian divinities	Funerary <i>stele</i> of priest Asklapiadas of Sidon ¹⁴⁹	3 rd cent.	Demetrias
37.	Ennodia? Hecate? ¹⁵⁰	<i>Hekataion</i>	Hellenistic	<i>id.</i>

¹⁴⁰ MOUSTAKA (1983), no. 20, fig. 6.

¹⁴¹ *Cf. o.c.* (n. 107).

¹⁴² BATZIOU (2002), p. 30-32, fig. 33-36.

¹⁴³ BATZIOU (2002), p. 30-32, fig. 33-36, 38. HORNUNG-BERTEMES (2007), p. 82-84.

¹⁴⁴ ARVANITOPOULOS (1916), p. 31. This material, still unpublished, has been recently identified at the National Museum of Athens and is under publication by Maria Stamatopoulou, whom I thank for this personal communication.

¹⁴⁵ ARVANITOPOULOS (1929), p. 32, no. 420.

¹⁴⁶ *IG IX 2*, 411.

¹⁴⁷ *IG IX 2*, 1198.

¹⁴⁸ MC DEVITT (1970), 679.

¹⁴⁹ *SEG 25*, 681.

¹⁵⁰ CHRYSOSTOMOU (1998), fig. 21a-b.

38.	Harpocrates? ¹⁵¹	Sanctuary?	Hellenistic	<i>id.</i>
39.	Hera ¹⁵²	Small votive altar	Roman	<i>id.</i>
40.	Heracles ¹⁵³	Votive stele	3 rd -2 nd cent.	<i>id.</i>
41.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁵⁴	<i>id.</i>	Hellenistic?	Chorto (Ancient Spalauthra?)
42.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁵⁵	<i>id.</i>	1 st /1 st cent. AD	Palaiokastro of Argalaste (Ancient Olizon?)
43.	Heracles Kynagidas ¹⁵⁶	Edict of Philip V	221-179	Demetrias
44.	Hermes Chthonios ¹⁵⁷	Painted herms on funerary <i>stelai</i>	Hellenistic	Demetrias
45.	Household cults ¹⁵⁸	Incense burners, clay figurines of gods	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>
46.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁵⁹	Bronze incense burners, bronze figurines of Gods (Poseidon, Athena, etc)	Roman	<i>id.</i>
47.	Isis ¹⁶⁰	Priest	3 rd cent.	<i>id.</i>
48.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁶¹	Graffito	Hellenistic	<i>id.</i>
49.	Isis, Serapis, Anubis ¹⁶²	Votive inscription	<i>id.</i>	Pagasai
50.	Pasikrata ¹⁶³	Votive altars, marble head, clay figurines, lamps, etc.	3 rd / 2 nd cent.	Demetrias. Outside the southern fortification gate.
51.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁶⁴	Priestess	<i>id.</i>	Demetrias

¹⁵¹ ARVANITOPOULOS (1915), p. 160-161.

¹⁵² Unpublished (Museum of Volos).

¹⁵³ IG IX 2, 359a.

¹⁵⁴ IG IX 2, 1210.

¹⁵⁵ IG IX 2, 1217.

¹⁵⁶ INTZESIOGLOU (2006), p. 67-77.

¹⁵⁷ BATZIOU (2002), p. 43, fig. 54-55.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁵⁹ SKAFIDA, TRAIANTAFYLLOPOULOU (forthcoming).

¹⁶⁰ STAMATOPOULOU (2008).

¹⁶¹ SEG 43, 525.

¹⁶² IG IX 2, 360.

¹⁶³ SEG 3, 481-2.

52.	Pasikrata ¹⁶⁵		Roman	<i>id.</i>
53.	Private heroization ¹⁶⁶	Totenmahl reliefs, etc	Hellenistic	<i>id.</i>
54.	Serapis ¹⁶⁷	Serapieion	2 nd cent.	<i>id.</i>
55.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁶⁸	Priests	<i>id.</i>	Makrynitsa
56.	Sarapis and Isis ¹⁶⁹	Votive inscription	Roman	Demetrias
57.	Zeus? ¹⁷⁰	Votive relief with winged thunderbolt	Late Hellenistic?	Chorto (ancient Spalauthra?)
58.	Zeus Akraios ¹⁷¹	Architectural elements and miscellaneous finds.	Hellenistic	Summit of Mount Pelion
59.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁷²	Cult regulation	2 nd / 1 st cent.	Korope. (Ancient Korope ?)
60.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁷³	Public decrees (priest)	2 nd cent.	Demetrias
61.	Zeus Akraios ¹⁷⁴	Head on coins	Imperial	<i>id.</i>
62.	Zeus Milichios ¹⁷⁵	Votive	2 nd cent.	<i>id.</i>
63.	Zeus Sabazios ¹⁷⁶	Votive relief	Roman	Trikeri
Roman Imperial cult				
64.	Julius Cesar ¹⁷⁷	Honorific statue	48	Demetrias
65.	Tiberius ¹⁷⁸	<i>id.</i>	1-50 AD	<i>id.</i>
66.	Titus Cesar ¹⁷⁹	<i>id.</i> (honored by the Magnetes)	71-81 AD	<i>id.</i>

¹⁶⁴ SEG 3, 483.

¹⁶⁵ PAPACHATZIS (1958), p. 62.

¹⁶⁶ IG IX 2, 1099a; 1168-1170; 1192.

¹⁶⁷ IG IX 2, 1107b; 1101.

¹⁶⁸ IG IX 2, 1107b; 1133.

¹⁶⁹ McDEVITT (1970), p. 97, 713.

¹⁷⁰ IG IX 2, 1211.

¹⁷¹ ARVANITOPOULOS (1911a), p. 305-315.

¹⁷² IG IX 2, 1110.

¹⁷³ IG IX 2 1103; 1105 II; 1108-1110.

¹⁷⁴ WACE (1906), p. 155-156, fig. 12.

¹⁷⁵ SEG 37, 460.

¹⁷⁶ MITROPOULOU (1984), p. 93-95, fig. 1.

¹⁷⁷ SEG 14, 474.

¹⁷⁸ SEG 23, 449.

¹⁷⁹ SEG 23, 450.

67.	Olympian Gods and Lucius Septimus Severus ¹⁸⁰	Votive altar	Late 2 nd cent. AD	<i>id.</i>
68.	<i>id.</i> ¹⁸¹	Honorific statue	193-211 AD	<i>id.</i>
69.	Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus ¹⁸²	<i>id.</i>	212-217 AD	<i>id.</i>
70.	“Major and Pius Master Cesar Marcus Aurelius Karus” ¹⁸³	<i>id.</i>	282 AD	<i>id.</i>
71.	“Emperor ... Pius Sermatikos” ¹⁸⁴	<i>id.</i>	308-324 AD	<i>id.</i>
72.	<i>Sebastos</i> ¹⁸⁵	Stele (Priests)	Late Imperial	<i>id.</i>

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¹⁸⁰ *SEG* 25, 680.

¹⁸¹ *IG* IX 2, 1137.

¹⁸² *IG* IX 2, 1136.

¹⁸³ *IG* IX 2, 1138.

¹⁸⁴ *SEG* 37, 462.

¹⁸⁵ *SEG* 37, 463.

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